## TAMMANY HALL

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE OLD WIGWAM

THE POWIR OF THE ANCIENT REGIME

The Second Jackson Campaign Victorious, a the United States Bank Overthrown by its inflaence.

THE NEW GENERATION IN TARMANY HALL.

Rise of the Albany Regency and its Alliance with Tammany Hall.

The Van Burens and the First Treason of Tammany Hall.

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The Buffalo Platform and the Denouement.

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SPEECH OF GENERAL CASS.

EFFECT OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION,

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THE BREAKING UP OF TAMMANY HALL.

THE OLD HARLOT DENOUNCED,

The history of Tammany Hall for the last twelve years ney, and has been the blind instrument of its dicta ad foolish counsels in degrading, in the minds of honors dominated throughout the whole Union

MIR OLD BEGINE-SILAS WRIGHT, VAN BURKN AND 1848.

The Tammany Hall of twenty years ago, when under management of leaders of deserved social position equally accredited political eminence, enjoyed a reation nowhere questioned, and an authority from which there was no appeal. Other political organizations d their day with the causes which called them lete As elections came and were over, so did the and depart, like other shadows of the hour; fo he exigencies of the moment, like State or county conventions, which, having fulfilled their immediate func eeded by organizations as temporary as evance tactly organized Convention, in permanent session. The d to the winds, and its short-sighted opponents has ection from the death which they had dealt it. But is not the mere maining of its parts, which sprang into its s, like the fabled heads of Hydra. If the body was lialed or seemingly killed, the soul remained, and soul was democracy; everliving, quickening, animat ng, never despairing, ever watchful while others slum ed, and working while others rested. She ruled by commit of the democracy, who made her the arbite their own strifes and contentions, and were obedient r decisions, believing them to be the results of wis om and patriotism. Quick in observing the popular robability bave failed, and without her opposition ed on the country. And these two eminent exce of political successes towards which she exerted re potent tofluence than any other political organizathat has ever existed since the foundation of the go ernment. Such was Tammany under the leadership of

frence of these old leaders began to flag. Men, clamorous for charges, who, not entished with being well, sought to be better, had begun to neurp their places, and upon their councils. It is no wonder that their self res to fig; that their attendance at the old wig warm became to far; that their attendance at the oil wig wan became less frequent, and that, from not meeting each others' familiar faces, the period seen arrived when, as a body, they never met again. The spirit which was creepleg over Tammany was beginning to creep over the leaders to other parts of the State, comprising what had become long recognized as the Marcy Regency; and men long as well known by their taients ceased to take part as party scales. On some of these men age had begun to make lie mark, and they were half withing to retter from moreose of party strife; and the diagues caused by the rejection of Mr. Van Bureu at the Sattimore Convection, through the intrigues of Southern politicians, co operated with their willingness to review from somes where they feit they were hardly wanted. Tammany was even they fait they were hardly wanted. Tammany was even they fait they may be a transition state, of which none could exactly predict the end. The Teans and annexation letter of Mr. Van Buren—drawn from him for the purpose of placing him in a take position, with the same object, but a different result, from the famous Sherrod williams' inter of some years previous—had loss him the South, while with the North, and more especially the State of New York, he held pre-emboust sway and popularity. And from that mischilevous beginning aprang those future aginations upon free self and anti-slavery docurines which have perplaced the democratic party and preverted the popular sense. less frequent, and that, from not meeting each others

THE NEW REGIME.

That agristion which first developed itself in the Baltimore Convention of 1844, to the general disturbance of the whole country, will probably be closed by the result of the election of 1850. But the Tammany and Regency managers of 1844 pursued a course very different from of 1800. Whatever might have been the disappointments at the result of the nomination of the Baitimore Convention, there was at least a score of duty in copporting its candidate, and the bitter pill was awallow-ed. A fair support was given to Mr. Polk, and he was elected to the Presidency. But unfortunately a new and rising regency was coming into the field to take the place of the elders who for so many years had kept the democratic party together in harmony, and to a certain extent they made their power (ett., as sadiy as it has been felt from that day to the present it was they who urged upon Siles Wright the monimation for Governor of the State of New York, for two purposes—the Erm to deprive Mr. Polk, if elected, of his support in the Senate, and the second to make nim the Precidential candidate in 154%, in vain were the protestations and pleadings of Mr. Wright against a course creat to him and injurious to the democratic party. In vain were the entrest requests of the elders of the old Regency and the old lenders at Tamber of the old Regency and the Senate might be complied with. When the election was over—Polk elected to the Precidency, and Siles Wright to the Governor-Wright that all who had been apposed to the policy of making him Governor were his ensemble; and, strange see in may seem, the constant repedition of these charges seemed at last to have made an impression on the made of the Governor and become the cause of alternation from many of his eldest and heat tried ferends. Never were new courtiers around a new king more intent upon outfaing all influence over him to their own exclusive franche, and keeping from his presence the homest men, who prever lattered one betwayed, and who dared to tell the truth even though it might prave unwelcome. It was then that they creatly endeavored to inspire him with their own notions of free soillem, and as they had already drawn him from his hip position, in the connects of the nation to drag him his to be vertex of State politice, that they equally endeavored to inspire him with their own notions of free soillem, and as they had already drawn him from his high position in the connects of the nation to drag him him to the vortex of State politice, that they equally endeavored to induce him to regard with dislavor those friends in the South with whom he had seed on questions of broad astional polity. The great of Marin Van B place of the elders who for so many years had kept the democratic party together in harmony, and to a certain

mencing their course of mischief. At the close of his go-bernatorial term, his nomination was demanded on the ground of his free soil proditvities, thus placing him in a new and dangerous post-tion. His defeat enseed, and his death acon 'ollowed his rative ment from public life. A short titre before that immentable event, in conversation with Grovernor Marcy, he remarked that his great mistake was in his leaving the Secale, and in listening to the advice of men whom he found, when it was too liste, were not to be relied on. "I am, "I said he, "a victim to a compiracy, which has not alone ruined me, but one that is directing its influence to divice and create heatility between the North and the south." And so fell this truly great man, the victim to the wiles and seductions of the new Regency and the new rulers of Tammany Hall—of that Tammany Hall whose power began to wance from the hoor when these men began to exercise a controlling influence over its

A few remarks upon the condition of the democratic gency coming into power. The deteat of Wright and Flagg, which was charged to the treachery of the corrervative branch of the demohastened the organization of the under the lead of B. F. Butler, S. Young, George P. Barker, John Van Buren and other eminent politicia: of that school, aided by the councils of General Dix, at Washington. These men, early in the Legislative session f 1847, met privately at Albany, and resolved as the first step towards the establishment of free soil doctrines as part of the political code of the New York democracy, to bring forward the noted Wilmot Proviso resolution which was then under consideration before the House of Representatives at Washington. The resolution was ac cordingly introduced into the State Senate, and it at once met favor with members of the semi-abolitionized districts of the State in both branches of the Legislature, it was aimed especially at General Cars, who had declared against the Proviso, and equally against the administration of Mr. Polk, with a view of the fetest of either of these gentlemen for the next Presidency. Refresidency are presidency for the resolution, which was adopted by a large majority, many of those voting for it ignorant of its ulterior scope and object. The gazes thus castly started and smoothly managed at Albany, if not through the urgency of Mr. Van Buren, certainly through the impangement, was not harf played until famous Hall should join, and by giving her sanction this semi-abolitionism indoctrinate it into the body of the democratic party throughout the State. The Sachems had been convingly, but to themselves almost impercapitally wen over to its favor. The knaves who understood its whole scope and fendency had been too wise for the dupes, who were too purblind to see the path into which they were led, and fere scelling was fast gathering into its tools long tried and faithful democrate; they in their simple horsely constitute of the right their simple horsely constitute of the right that were

To incorporate the principles of the Wilmot Provise into the democratic platform, and to force it upon the democracy as a test question, was a piece of boldness evented. Among the supporters of the proviso were resolution), John A. Kennedy and General Nye, all ram-pant black republicans at the present moment, and of whom we may at least say, that however we may condemn their doctrines, they have at least had the consistency to adhere to them. Feelr collaterators stand in the unenviable position of having either attempted to force upon the democratic party doctrines which they did not believe, or if they did then believe them, of having abandoned them because they have proved unput at many the cound masses of the teople. But defeat awaited them in their attempt to bring over the Convention to free wellism.

THE VAN ECTIONS AND TAMMANY TREASON - THE PIRST

mended the holding of a State Convention at Herkimer slavery, as part of their institutions, denounced in the councils, the election resulted in favor of the whigs, as it was intended it should by these rebels in the denocratic camp. A majority of the sachems of fammany sympathized with the doings of there conspirators, and the sympathy even extended to a portion of the General Committee. In the early part of January, 1848, fir. ex President Van Buren again visited the city, estensioly to attend the eighth of January dimer atjammany, but in reality to direct the approaching January elections in the city for the selection of delegates to the State Convention, to be bed at Albany on the 28th link, for organizing the State and choosing the Presidential electors. The Lenning Post did not conceive Tammany as sufficiently tree soil in her actions and denounced her lukewarmoess, and Tammany epiked by a residation to take way her it treatlaneaus. these conspirators, and the sympathy even extended tions and denounced her lukewarmoss, and Tammany replied by a resolution to take away her aftertisements from that paper and give them to the Hanalo, which, after a warm controversy, was defeated by the efforts of theodore Sedgaick, Goorge B Parser and the present District Attorney. But the national democracy was again successful, and the Convention at Albany nominated for electors at large Heman J. Reddeld and Campbell P. White. The circommitance of the renomination at this time of Mr. Reddeld and Campbell P. White. The circommitance of the renomination at this time of Mr. Reddeld and Campbell P. White. The success. The vote of the State of New York in 1845 decided the Presidential election, as the vote of the State may again decide it in 1860. But the vote of the State may again decide it in 1860. But the vote of the State may again decide it in 1860. But the vote of the State may again decide it in 1860. But the vote of the State may again decide it in 1860. But the vote of the State may again decide it in 1860. But the vote of the State may again decide it in 1860. But the vote of the State may again decide it in 1860. But the vote of the State may again decide it in 1860. But the vote of the State may again decide it in 1860. But the vote of the State may again decide it in 1860. But the vote of the State may again decide it in 1860. But the vote of the State may again decide it in 1860. But the vote of the State may again decide it in 1860. But the vote of the State may again decided and the State of New York in 1860. But the vote of the State of New York in 1860. But the vote of the State of New York in 1860. But the State of New York in 1860. But the Vote of the State of New York in 1860. But the New York in 1860. But the

was the first division of the democrate upon Providential electors for the last twenty-five years.

The seceders resolved to meet at Utics and nominate a free soil ticket, pure and uncontaminated. A new candidate was to be chosen, but extraordinary popularity had in the meantime appeared in the person of General Taylor, and the Van Buren clique at once sprang to him, regardies of his poliweal antecedents, as one certain to dereat other Case or Polk, then the most prominent democrate for the nomination. It may seem strange, but even honset old Zack was caught to be brought into the snares of the free soil conspirators; but it is nevertheless true that Mr. Butler and dressed the old hero a confidential letter, sounding him on the Wilmot Provise question, and that the answer was entirely unsatisfactory on this point. The honest old soldier knew fittle of politice, still less of the politice of the Van Baren scool, and he planely declared his was willingness to become a candidate of any section or any faction. As it may easily be conceived, such directness and honesty of purpose suited neither the taste nor the political habits of the Van Barens. Willing to avail themselves of the popularity of the successful General, they maintaily locked upon it as a marketable commodity to be turned to their own buckstering purposes, and they rejuced at the prospect of and coursel over the honest mind of the successful older, who height be used, as they used everything else that came into their hands, to secure their own code. The Free Soil Convention met as the appoint of time, and among its delegates from this city were not complete the secure of Thurlew Weed; Wilson Small and W. G. Hunt. The negro Douglass was a delegate at large, and coupled a prominent seal on the rostroun, from which he addressed that Convention of Kindred spirits; he, whilever we may say of him, was the fitter and most confinent representative and coupled to the force of the business of the misohieven provise. A new set of delegates were chosen to the Bat

It was shortly after this period that the famous Buffalo Convention was held, and the equally famous Buffalo platform adopted-a platform which, as a specimen of political curpentry, was the oddest combination of rickety materials that logenuity ever attempted to con-struct. In the language of Mr. Webster, it was so shaky that it trembled even under the cat-like tread of Me Van Buren. It not only fell to pieces from the fragility

and, true to the usages of the party, gave their votes for Cass as the regular nomines. But the conspirators remained true to their object of deflating Cass. This city, as it was the draw focus of conspirator, remained the principal stumping ground of the conspirators. John Van Buren, the prime mischlef maker, had taken up his abede here since his returning from the office of Attorney General, and other leading free rotiers from other parts of the State added their presence and their councils to the organization centrained in this city. It soon became anotorious that this organization was amply supplied with funds, and the mystery as to where these funds came from became an object of speculation. Organizations which, for a brief anterior period, had been in favor of General Cass, came to their support, and the Van Buren flag was raised in quarters where shortly previous it had never been seen; while in the same quarters there seemed to be a sudden flush of money among those to whom that commodity had been a scarce article. It was asserted in the Eneming Post, the powerful organ of the free soilers, that John Van Buren had received a large amount of money from the whigs to keep up the free soil organization, and the name of one of the most distinguished citizens and wealthy merchants was given

THE PRESENT TREASON IDENTICAL WITH THAT OF 1848—THE HARDS AND THE SOPTS. We must be excused for thus having run into details, parently interfering with the history of Tammany Hall. But they are significant, and at this moment interesting, as applicable to the movements of these same men in their present effort to defeat the national democracy in The scenery, though painted over a little, is but the

THE GLOBE NEWSPAPER.

The concern was greatly in debt—as concerns so started and supported are sure to become—and Childs, the busi-ness manager, was unrelenting in his demands for means to seep is alive; and it continued to maintain a precari-ous enurence, owing chiefly to the closuress of his pecu-

SUCCESS OF THE HARDS.

Both factions again appeared in the field in the cosming State election, but the bands were successful in electing a majority of their friends to represent them. At a dinner previously given by the hards, at Tammany Hall, to Paciel S. Dickinson, that gen-tleman, in a speech of great severity, put all the blame of existing difficulties to the account of the free soilers, charging General Dix with being the principal scilers, charging General Dix with being the principal agitator. Thus stood matters until the meeting of the State Convention at Syracuse, at which a general feeling was manifested in favor of harmonizing past differences. Horatio Seymony was nominated for diovernor, and this nomination was received with acclamation at fammany flail as being the end of all difficulties. In the midst of this outpuring of good feeling a resolution was adopted, with enthusiastic and repeated cheers, for the RESEALD, which, while preserving its ose independence, had been fighting these factions, as it has been doing in the present compaigh. It was, at least, an acknowledgment of the bonesity of the HERALD and a compliment to its consistency, doubly riguilloant from the fact that it had never on one occasion sought to faster either of the factions, but had condemned without mercy wherever it thought condemnation as act of justice. But a more startling exemptification of the estimation which the HERALD hat gained for itself, by the independence of its course as well as the sound ness of its views, was exhibited snortly after in a speech made by General Cars at Tammany Hail. "Now," said the orator, "let me do another act of justice; let me thank the New Yors HERALD—applance)—and I do It with pleasure, for I have particularly observed the course of that paper throughout the crism (Three cheers were unanimously given for the HERALD ) I do this with the more pleasure, for it is not a paper attached to our party, and one which has supported the country in the day of its troubles, and in the boar of up pending misfortune, with the distinguished ability which characterizes the columns." agitator. Thus stood matters until the meeting of the

We must leave here the muddy pool of local politics and sectional intrigue and corruption to glance at the general state of the country and its distracted condition.

The agitation of the slavery question for the three years previous, commencing with the introduction of the Wilmot Proviso at Washington, and its subsequent introduction previous, commencing with the introduction of the Wilmot's Proviso at Washington, and its subsequent introduction at Albany, had by degrees aroused the whole country to a state of alarm, particularly the South, who began to prepare for resistance against assaults so of repeated. The eafeity of the Union became a subject of the most anxious apprehension in the minds of the wissels and most experienced statement. The excitement, while it was similar in many respects to that which now pervades the country, was of a more intense character. The public mind was not as well prepared as it is now for the shock, as it had not up to that time became so familiar with the discussion of disusion as it now unfortunstely has, and and the theresioning which one with most foreboding force, every whitper of compromise, every proposition of conciliation came with a welcome, deep felt and sincere. Our merchania came together as men to join with their voice in calmite; the troubles of the hour, and a oatly signed by thousands, appeared in the Hankin, of a meeting at the field search in favor of measures to calm existing descentents and bind the Union more closely together. General Scott honored the meeting with his presence, and the proceedings were marked with a solemnity belitting the occasion. The compromise of 1800 was then before Congress, and had the support of Webster, Clay, Cam. Dickinson and other patriots. The 'errisan' being foretoid scenned resity to have one at last. The passage of that act, or fratricidal war, seemed to be self-evident. With trembling voice the question was every where asked, "What may be escape the dangers which surround use."

At this period the enlargement of the Eric canal became a subject of wide discussion, and the demand for the im to the measure, while it was advocated by the hards, who, by this course, added greatly to their strength in the western part of the State. It became evident that an organized opposition to the measure would prove injurious to the peersty pursuing it; and the softs, yielding to the necessity of the case, joined with the hards in recommending the measure. United on this point, the same spirit of unity predominated in their proceedings at the ensuing State Convention, where they passed resolutions against the agitation of the slavery question, in favor of the nine millions for the calargement of the canal, which had been appropriated by the previous Legislature, and with a seal for internal improvements which would have been highly commendable if it had been characterized by a little honestyr resolved that the enlargement should be proceeded with forthwith. Equally enthusiastic in favor of internal improvements was the new born real of Tammany Hall, and resolutions in favor of the immediate enlargement were passed with accidentation.

unconscious but certain cause. They showed symptoms of discontent, but the whip and spur of Weed and Greeley were applied as persuaders. The convention which had denounced Webster and Clay for their support of the Compromise measure was in the main sustained. But the dissatisfaction which had arisen among the more conservative of the whigs continued to ingrease. The powerful voice of Webster was raised in denouncing the fast extending treason, and the election was carried by the new united democracy throughout the city and State, the only candidate on the city ticket defeated being I V. Foair, who ran for Surogate. The Common Council, in both branches, was democrated. The appetities of the Tammany deserved the famous was democrated. The appetities of the Tammany deserved the famous was not only continued to the council. Tammany was poor, or represented herself to be poor, having softered during a long period of poculiary exhaustion. "Where the carcas was, there were the captagathered together," and never were eagles more voraciests. In point of prolitigacy and extravagance, the famous "forty thieves" of the City Hall were outdone by their less scrupulous but more magry successors. The bistory of public business neglected that proliable private business might be advanced, of legination for the few at the expense of the many, with all the vie accessories that attend upon organizations in which hunger and venality kept equal pace, is the brief history of these unserconcluster representatives of an unservented on the captage of the captage of an unservented on the captage of the captage of an unservented on the captage of the captage of an unservented on the captage of the captage of an unservented on the captage of the captage of an unservented on the captage of the captage of an unservented on the captage of the captage of an unservented on the captage of the captage of an unservented on the captage of the captage of the captage of an unservented on the captage of the captage of the captage of the captage of the

Let us take a glance at the past, and secertain, if we can, the cause for this disintegration of parties, and the consequent wickedness practised under new organizations assuming to themselves the names of democrate. It is easy in our mind to trace it to one cause, the dissippointed ambition of one man, whose aims had up to a certain period been supposed to be honorable, and whose recommendation to the country consisted principally in his freedom from sectionalsm. It is difficult to speak of the course of Mr. Van Buren with patience, for the mention of his name brings with it the wretched anti-slavery signation, which, since his rejection as a candidate for the Presidency to the present time, has irritated, convulsed and distracted the country. The conduct of Burr was regarded as treason to his country, and yet evan Burr will be regarded by inspartial history as merely a daving dibuster, whose schemes of conquest lay in the main outside the Caion. Around him hangs some badge of berosine, some mark of chiralry, for he never feared to exceusiter darger. But the treason of Van Buren to the democracy and the country, while it bore around it every vulgar trait of malice and we spite of the treast order, was the offspring of a selfenhese of the most intense character. His defeat as a Presidential candidate was sitributed, and not without treason, to the South, and to be revenged on the South was his absorbing idea. Without his encouragement and co-operation the scones of discord among democrats on the veratious shavery question would never have occurred for he had practised the management of that question so long as he could turn it to his own advantage. But for him and his griefs, and the atonement for those griefs, by assaults upon the South, the councils of Tammany would have been harmonious sader the lead, as formerly, of honorable and just to his work advantage. But for him and his price, and the outself he councils of Tammany would have been harmonious sader the lead, as formerly, of honorable and just that the long parts that the long parts that the himself and hi can, the cause for this disintegration of parties, and the consequent wickedness practised under new organiza-tions assuming to themselves the names of demograts.

CROSWELL AND CAGGER.

The strife between the leaders of the two factions

representative of the bards, Croswell, of the Argus, had shown ne quarter, and his uncon

In this Convention the bards were in the ascendant were rejected as delegates. The real struggle was for the anticipated spoils to be distributed in the event of the election of Pierce. But the intrigues of the barnburners

PIERCE'S PATAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE SPOILS.

appointment of Governor Marcy as Secretary of State was regarded by the hards as an augury of their suc-cess; but, alse for the faith of politicians, it soon became The nallocination under which President Pierce labored in relation to the exitting state of parties in this State is one of the most extraordinary on record. To elect him factions the most discordant had suspended their discords. These very factionists had become weary of strice, and the general body of the democrate had become disgusted with their increaset bickerings. Though professions of fraternity among their leaders might have their usual hollowness, yet there were horest men in both factions who sought a tallon of the conflicting elements for the general good of the whole country. They were quite willing, so long as the President should make his appointment from smong capable and honest democrate, that some small predominance of one or other of the old factions might take place, for they knew that in the chances of selection such accidents would more or less occur; and they were willing in advance to abandon all cavilin on that point, and to repose a generous bondidence in the wise and just intentions of the appointing power. But in the mental callation under which the President labored, it was he especial monomania that his individual management must be brought into action to harmonize the factions, and he seemed to be inspired with the belief that his accession to the Presidency was a special musion to regenerate the democratic party. And most sadly and bunglingly did he jot to work, relaxeing the appointment of a hard, by the appointment of a boft, and the apprintment of a hard by the appointment of a taled, throwing a little more dough in each scale as it rose or fell, all the while looking at his handiwork with the most chucking self-congratulation. And yet days had scarce run into weeks, or weeks into months, before the very appointment of a total chart the point of factions.

than its old factions.

Let us here stable that there was one cause for diseatisfaction in the course pursued by General Pierce that was almost necessarily connected with his service of office, it was nothing more nor less than awant of faith, from the very start, in his superior qualifications for the Presidential residential.

faction in the course pursued by General Pierce that was almost mecssarily connected with his service of office. It was nothing more nor less than a want of faith, from the very start, in his superior qualifications for the Presidential prediction. There was nothing in or about the man that gave to his decisions the stamp of superior authority. For though regarded as a man of sense, he was considered no better than a hundred other men of sense, such as we find constantly around us, with whom we do not hesitate to differ whenever it suits our judgment. The authority that vested in the very name of jackton, the reputation for shrewdows which was connected with the name of Van Baren, were not only whelly wanting, but there was a slight larking suspicion that he might not come up to the standard of his predecessors; and with these preposessions, to inquire into, to doubt, to democate, were the transitions of mind into which it was easy for the public to fail. But the people who elected him knew that they were electing a second class stateman, towards whom they might be called to energies charity for good intentions, little realizing that it is precisely this class of people towards whom they are unwilling to exercise that charity, and in whom they are unwilling to exercise that charity, and in whom they are unwilling to exercise that charity, and in whom they are unwilling ready to regard political blunders as political crimes, and punish them accordingly.

To proceed with our burried narrative. The appointment of Marcy was well received by the country at large, outside of the branburner faction, and it gave condence as a start in the career of his administration. But this continues began to be mattered at the preference shown by himself and Cabinet in favor of the baraburner influence wherever an opportunity offered to exhibit a preference of the faction, who had received the most solid process of the President's condidence in the officer with his start faction and solid process of the president for the baraburner RESULT OF PIERCE'S FOLICY.

The result of this state of affairs soon became apparent.

Elections held in States which had given large majorities for Pierce told an entirely opposite story, and described not merely the administration but the democratic party not merely the administration but the democratic party. And these changes had taken place in the first six mouths of the new Presidency, and a united democracy had in that briof period of time been split into fragments. The free soilers, reemingly rustained by President Plerce, became melocet in their supposed strength, and orselly intolerant whenever they had an opportunity to bring that strength into exercise. At the September State Convention they appeared with their hired fighting men, held separate organizations, and forced the national indepates to nominate a separate ticket. Their insolence was so intolerable that the hards were not treated with decent respect. To proceribe them was accounted a virtue, for the presumption was regarded as a thing which the general administration at Washington winked at and encouraged. Greene C. Bronson and Charles O'Conor, the newly appointed Collector and District Attorney—both hards, on whom appointments had been conterred under them of a fair division of offices between the factions—had been careful to address a soft meeting at Tammany Hail, which cas declined by these gentlemen in terms of strong condem-

pointment of none but hards to office in the Custom House. The framemany faction wanted this place for their own creatures, and the importunities for the removal of fromes were successful, thus furnishing themselves with a new proof of the sympathy and confidence of Pierce and his Cabinet. The New York Herath, which had given a fair and impartial support to the administration, observing the existing state of things and the doparture of General Pierce from the honorable policy which was expected of him, became his must decided and bitter opponent. And yet, notwithstanding the combined influence of the administration and the federal officers in this city, the national democracy, with their candidates, in the State election, beat the softs by several thousand votes, the State passing into the hands of Soward and his friends. In this election the vote for the hards stood 100,000, and for the softs 95,000.

The last triumph of the democratic party in this State for the election of Governor terminated in the choice of Governor terminated in the choice of Governor terminated in the choice of Governor that office, and the last it will prove to be for many years should Lincoln be successful for the Presidency. That the defeat of the democracy of this State was in a great degree owing to the miserable manangement of the Cabinet at Washington there cannot be a moment's question. But the responsibility was shifted from the tabinet to the shoulders of the President, who by this time was becoming a tootable between his condensated Cabinet and was considerable to the shoulders of the president of the perplexed "public functionary" was pittable in the extreme. Aware of the influences which he had permitted to gather around him, but unable to shake them off, onstantly making foolish concessions and invention the promises which here was be to managen in whose hands he was but as clay in the hands of the pointer, he stumoled to from the cabinet of another. He had forfeited the confidence of one branch of the democracy, which woul

'THE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION" - PRES SPRECE

The principal operators at Tammany at the same or about the same period organized what was termed a

FOWLER SUPPLIES THE FUNDS

with the funds of the Post Office. Expensive entertain passing through the city, and every seduction of every kind that meney could supply was applied by the close corporation, which, strong in its inducence over the Predent to await their developments, which will shortly bemade. The principal facts would exhibit that unhappy
man in the hight of a mere instrument in the hands of his
wicked and unprincipled associates, who knew his weakness of heart, and availing themselves of his yielding nature, induced him to the committal of those acts which,
if left to the promptings of his own reason and natural instincts, he never would have committed. There are now
those who walk the streets of New York, of reputed
wealth and large political influence, who owe whatevor
they may presses of either of these qualities to this onfortunate man. His pecuniary difficulties in his accounts
with the government were known to these men long before they were openly exposed, but they encouraged
him to further acts of depredation upon the treesoury, with the assurance that in the end he would
be able to make "all right," and his abstractions of the government funds would be made good,
Let those of his seducers who read this, and among
them there are some of the present disuntonists of Tammany Hall—if there is one particle of sympathy left intheir natures for one on whose easy character they specuipled until they forced him to become a defaulter—ietthem make such atcement as is in their power, by providing for their victim some means to support him during the remainder of his exiled days. In a recent letter
bundred dollars left me, and when that is gone, God
knows what I thail to." The plunderers of Tammany, to
whose insatiste cravings poor Power fells d dupe and a
victim; the sunshine friends who basked in his bounty;
the stipediaries who did the dirty work which he was
too proud to de, but not too prood to pay for, stand ready
for another victim. The fate of Fowler is merely the fate
of a politician who, once having engaged the janisaries,
could never rid himself of them. The janisaries of the
Torkish Sultan were finally disposed of by the simple process of exterm nation, but there is no such summary remedy to get rid

GOVERNOR WISE MINGLES IN THE SCENE. Among the curiceities of this curious period was the endorsement of the barnbarners of Tammany by H. A. Wise, who had lately been elected Governor of Virginia. Wise, who had lately been elected Governor of Virginia. His motive for this strange proceeding, as given in a letter by the erratic Virginian, was a basis which belonged to the hards and not to the sofus; but this is unfortanately a very common instance of the strange mistakes made by Southern politicians in relation to their real friends in the North. The Governor, however, shortly after made smends for his blunder by proclaiming himself in lavor of the hards. How far he succeeded in establishing himself in the minds of either as a reliable statement into must determine, if, indeed, time has not already determined by placing the Governor in the retired lists of impracticables and incurables.

FOOR PIRROR'S PAREND FORNEY.

POOR PIERCE'S PRIEND FORNEY.
At the State election in New York immediately prior to

At the State election in New York immediately prior to the November election for President, Pierce, who was again in the field, despatched his conditional friend John W. Forney to visit this city, and if presi-ble to bring the two opposing factions into friendly relations. But Forney's time was otherwise compand in enjoying himself with fine sights and fine things, in com-pany with the Council of fen, and in joining in their laughing observa over the pretensions of pour Pierce. And that virtuous and trustworthy individual carried back to his emplayer the assurance that all was well, sad-that the vote for him in the convention was a sure thing. DOUGLAS LOOMS UP THE PEDERAL OFFICIALS LEAGUED AGAINST BUCHANAN,

The Cincinnati National Convention was approaching, and Douglas, as early as 1854, came prominently for early as a candidate to carry the prize, by the introduction of the famous Nebraska bill. Strange as it may appear the softe opposed this measure, while the hards were in favor of its passage. Pierce, who saw that it was a bid for the Presidency, sent his instructions to faminary to oppose it, and here again came up the negro spitation as one of the electioneering elements of the campaign. Douglas, who possessed the confidence of the South, regarding it as a capital to commence with, threw it out as a bait for the free States of the North, now about to be monopolized by Seward and the about to have been presented, and the story of the state, through the instructions of Pierce and their interance of the real meaning of the author, failed to understand the temp presented, and between this misunders unding and the rodden change of Southern scallineat, it soon became or dent that the Luttle Glant had—at least for the time being—committed a fatal mistake. Besidee, Bongias was at that time considered a hard, and this suspicion operated to his desadvantage. It will be recollected that the the softs opposed this measure, while the hards